

## Message Text

SECRET

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 118680 TOSEC 010146

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO NATO, BONN, BRUSSELS,  
COPENHAGEN, THE HAGUE, LUXEMBOURG, PARIS, ROME, MAY 20,  
FROM LONDON RPTD TO YOU:

QUOTE S E C R E T LONDON 07619

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UK

SUBJ: NATO SUMMIT AND DETENTE

1. IN GENERAL CONVERSATION WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY  
MAY 19, I ASKED CALLAGHAN FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE NATO  
SUMMIT. MAKING A PARTICULAR POINT OF SAYING THAT HE  
LOOKED FORWARD WITH PLEASURE TO SEEING THE PRESIDENT IN  
BRUSSELS, CALLAGHAN THOUGHT THE MEETING SHOULD SERVE A  
VERY USEFUL PURPOSE. IT WOULD ENABLE THE PRESIDENT IN  
THE WAKE OF VIETNAM TO RESTATE THE U.S. POSITION ON  
EUROPE AND THE ALLIANCE TO A WORLD-WIDE AUDIENCE. HE  
THOUGHT THAT AFTER THE MAYAGUEZ AFFAIR IT WAS LESS  
NECESSARY FOR THE U.S. TO STRESS ITS STRENGTH AND FORCE-  
FULNESS OF PURPOSE. IT WAS, IN HIS VIEW, IMPORTANT AS  
WELL FOR THE U.S. TO RE-EMPHASIZE THE PEACEFUL NATURE OF  
U.S. DIPLOMACY. HE WAS RELIEVED THAT THE MAYAGUEZ  
AFFAIR, WHICH HE THOUGHT HAD TURNED OUT WELL, HAD NOT

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LED TO DEEPER U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

2. I AGREED THAT THE MEETING WOULD AFFORD THE PRESIDENT AN OCCASION TO REAFFIRM THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE AND U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES FOR PEACEKEEPING. IT WOULD ALSO GIVE NATO THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESTATE THE COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT TO DEFENSE AND DETENTE. CALLAGHAN SAID THAT HOW THE LANGUAGE OF THE DECLARATION IS DEPLOYED WOULD BE IMPORTANT. IT WAS DESIRABLE TO STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN DEFENSE AND DETENTE SO THAT OUR OPPONENTS WOULD NOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR FALLING HEAVILY ON ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. I OBSERVED THAT IN THE U.S. WE NEED TO SEE DETENTE AS A PROCESS TO REDUCE TENSION RECIPROCALLY; THERE IS NO INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN DEFENSE AND DETENTE. CALLAGHAN SAID THAT WE MUST MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY CANNOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF DETENTE, NEVERTHELESS THE PROCESS MUST BE CONTINUED. WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WANT TO SEE CSCE CONCLUDED, AND THEN MOVE AHEAD WITH MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAD REPEATEDLY TOLD THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HERE THAT THE SOVIETS SHOULD GET MOVING ON CSCE, WHICH CALLAGHAN THOUGHT COULD END BY MID-JULY. IN HIS VIEW THE WEST WAS UNLIKELY TO GET MORE CONCESSIONS AT GENEVA FROM THE SOVIETS. (COMMENT: WE ARE STRUCK BY THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE VIEWS OF CALLAGHAN AND HIS PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS WORKING ON CSCE WHO TAKE A HARD LINE, ARGUING THAT THE SOVIET DESIRE TO WIND UP CSCE QUICKLY SHOULD BE EXPLOITED TO EXTRACT GREATER CONCESSIONS FROM THEM, PARTICULARLY ON BASKET THREE.)

RICHARDSON UNQUOTE. INGERSOLL

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